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ORSON S. MURRAY, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER.

"I AM SET FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE GOSPEL."

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FOR THE TELEGRAPH.

IT IS—BE NOT AFRAID: Mat. 14. 27.

As on life's troubled sea I ride,
And waves run high on every side,
And clouds obscure the sky,
And horrors come in frightful form,
There seems to whisper in the storm—
"Be not afraid—'tis I."

When thunders burst with awful crash,
And forked lightnings nimbly flash,
Destruction seeming nigh—
My Saviour sits upon the cloud,
And this proclaims in accents loud—
"Be not afraid—'tis I."

When fierce disease, with withering hand,
Spreads desolation o'er the land,
And fear extorts a sigh;
O then I hear his heavenly voice,
Saying, "My child, in hope rejoice,"
"Be not afraid—'tis I."

Then may I live, O gracious Lord,
In strict obedience to thy word,
That when I come to die,
Ersaptured I thy voice may hear,
Soft whispering in my dying ear,
"Be not afraid—'tis I." A.

NEW-YORK STATE TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

(Continued.)

Mr Welch's first resolution was now taken up. The resolution having been read,

Mr C. A. Lord of New-York, said he was not satisfied with the explanation given by the mover. It does not meet the case. There is something wrong. One society, the Young Men's Total Abstinence Society of New-York, applied to a distinguished clergyman for aid, requesting him to preach a sermon in our behalf to young men. He said, "So far from doing it I do not approve of your society, and shall feel it my duty to oppose you." I have no doubt the gentleman's intentions are honest, and that it is for the sake of peace he would have us adhere to the old pledge. But I believe that peace, on such grounds, will be the lethargy of death. He calls on us to adopt the resolution for the sake of union among the friends of temperance. No doubt union is a good thing, but consistency is better. It would be a matter of regret that your council should be distracted, but you may be assured that your influence will be greater on the new ground. Three or four years ago I attempted to get the total abstinence pledge engraved on the constitution of a state society where I lived, and it was opposed on the ground that the New-York State Society had not done it.

Sir, what is the principal aim of the temperance reform? Is it the mere saving of dollars and cents? These weigh not a feather in the scale, in comparison with the great moral question, to redeem our fellow men from ruin, and our country from the reproach of being a nation of drunkards. Now how will you save us from the national ruin that is impending over us? Will you do it by the banishment of merely a part of the means of ruin? What is intemperance? Intemperance, as defined by Beecher, is the use of intoxicating liquors, whether with or without actual drunkenness. In the case of a man who was indicted for roasting his wife, it appeared that he was under the influence of liquor, but was not drunk. Wine is producing the same effects in high life, that ardent spirit produces in other portions of society. It is only a gentle way of intoxication.

I believe the commonness of this vice in our country has blunted our sensibilities to the wickedness of it. Let me introduce a character who has made a figure in history. His life was a life of crime, and yet a striking proof of the vitiating influence of temptation. He was comely in his person, but slothful in his habits, and yet he led armies to victory and nations even raised him to the honors of divinity. Such is the character of the emperor of drunkards, of Bacchus, the personification of wine. And yet this loathsome character is an idol even with us. He is now standing before the car of temperance. The report of your Executive Committee shows a decrease in the demand for your publications, and a decrease of exertion in many parts. And what is the cause? It is notorious that in large sections of country, the temperance reform is stopped. On my way here I saw more intemperance than I had seen in five years. Sir, people see the inconsistency of your pledge, and they are flying back. You can have temperance

wine made of ardent spirits, of any strength you choose, and all the world is going after temperance and wine.

There are five degrees in this business. The Massachusetts Temperance Society was formed without any pledge at all, leaving it to the discretion of the members how much to drink. This is discretionary temperance. The next is a Young Men's Society I heard of, the members of which were pledged not to drink except when they went out of town. This is geographical temperance. The American Temperance Society set itself to cut off some of the causes of intemperance, leaving others untouched. This is numerical temperance. Some advocate the disuse of all intoxicating liquors, except on great occasions. This is penultimate temperance. Then comes the total abstinence society, with what may be called ultimate temperance. This is the end.

We have been told of a book that is published by the American Society. I should like to know more about this book. As it seems to me, it does not come up to the mark. Suppose you take that book to England, they will laugh at all you say about ardent spirits, while they get drunk upon beer. It is to be published, we learn, in France. But the Frenchman will laugh at your feeble efforts, while you leave him unmolested to drink his pure wine. Send it to your missionaries in China, and the Chinaman drinks his samshoo, and the Indian his arrack. Your sailors are not protected by this warfare against ardent spirits. The truth is, Sir, the temperance cause has been circumvented by this old pledge. Suppose there should be a non-intercourse with France, and French goods should be introduced under the British flag; we should be circumvented. So, Sir, we have been circumvented in temperance by the old pledge. You must not drink ardent spirit; but only call it wine, and you may drink it.

S. S. Smith, of Fayetteville, Onondaga co., said, if this resolution is adopted, it precludes us from adopting any other pledge. If we say we adhere to the old one, how can we adopt a new one? I believe it is time to take new ground. I know not how it is in cities, but in the country we can make no further progress with the old pledge. The drunkard will give us up one kind of drink, if we only allow him another that will make fuddle come. These temperance men spoken of have never made any sacrifices for the cause of temperance. They have only given up the conser drinks, and taken the finer liquors. These city gentlemen have made their speeches, and perhaps given their money, and then drank their wine, and praised the cause of temperance. One of them was travelling with his wife and daughters in the northern part of Vermont—had a great deal to say in favor of the temperance cause, but at almost every tavern called for porter, and by the time he reached Boston he fairly drivelled at the mouth, he was drunk. Now shall we sacrifice the cause of temperance to keep that man in our ranks? Sir, I am unwilling to sacrifice our glorious cause to any man who has never made sacrifices for it. Let them go half way, let the lover of wine and the lover of strong beer, who will make no sacrifices, take their course, they have hindered us and brought reproach on our cause long enough. But when they undertake to tie up our hands, and close our mouths, and forbid us from taking up a new pledge, when the old one is proved insufficient, I will not submit. I do not say, cut them off, but I would go on, and let them dispose of themselves as they choose. One tee-totaller will do more good than twenty—yes, than a hundred wine drinkers. They do us more hurt than good by their example.

Mr Hathaway. I would bear my testimony to the correctness of the remarks made by the last speaker. I have learned with great surprise, and no little regret, that the gentlemen in our cities, instead of leading the country forward, are desirous of letting down the standard of temperance doctrine and lowering the tone of temperance practice. This vote would be a direct censure upon all that has been done the past year, and all the efforts that are now making to extend the new pledge, of total abstinence from all that can intoxicate. It is necessary that this society should come up, now, and take new ground. At the outset, there was not such an abundance of drinks called wine, in common use and circulation. But now individuals have labored to circumvent our pledge, by the manufacture of wines, both for profit, and to put down the temperance society. Now it is time for us to be consistent. The men we wish to bring over are keen-eyed to discover the inconsistencies there have been in the arguments and practices of the friends of reform. They know that the advocates of this cause denounce alcohol, and say it ought to be labeled, like other poisons, and kept in the apothecary's shop. Yet, when they call on the people for their pledges, they only ask for the abandonment of ardent spirit. Nay, I have known the very men who made these speeches, refuse to give up ardent spirit, unless you allow them a substitute that will produce the same effects, and that is in fact the very thing, itself—alcohol. The science of chemistry, one of the most analytical and demonstrative of all the sciences, informs us that the principle which produces in-

toxication is alcohol, and that it exists in ardent spirit, and in other intoxicating liquor, not in chemical combination with other substances, as fixed air in combination with lime to make marble, but mere mechanical union, so that wine is as much a mixture of alcohol, and water, and sugar, &c. as grog is.

Mr Welch did not intend to make any speech. When he introduced the resolutions he designed to throw them upon the wisdom of the convention. But they had unhappily been so misrepresented, or at least misunderstood, that in justice to himself he would offer a few explanations.

I stated distinctly, Sir, that these resolutions were designed as a measure of conciliation. They were not designed to agitate the wine question, but to extend the hand of fellowship to any gentlemen who are now alienated from us. We have abundance of evidence of the success of the ultra doctrine, as it has been called, in the country. But our friends are not at all aware of the spirit that exists in our cities. One gentleman from a city has told me that the number of inebriates has increased five-fold. Now are we to abandon our cities to the destroyer? Shall we, for the sake of legislating up our own opinions, abandon all hope of bringing around us the worth and virtue we have lost from our ranks? The eloquence to which we have listened has no application to the case in hand. The resolution holds out the hand to those once friendly but now inimical to us, who say you are attempting to oppose the Bible, and interfere with the church. I wish the society to say to them, "Come with us and we will do thee good." Come with us and help us to do good. The accomplishment of our object is understood to depend on public opinion, and it is therefore all important that we should secure the friendship and co-operation of those who lead and regulate public opinion. In respect to our cities, it is a fact that very few of the wealthy and intelligent citizens are now with you. Your resources and your strength are in the country. But it is in the cities that you are to meet the hydra, and therefore you must carry the cities, or fail in the conflict. I am myself, in sentiment and practice, heart and soul, a temperance man. And I contemplate, as the ultimate object of our efforts, Total Abstinence from intoxicating drinks. And I expect that those who would come with us under the old pledge will be brought in the end to temperance, as ultra as the most extreme advocate can desire. But now you have closed their ears against you by the doctrines you maintain, and the manner in which you enforce them. The object of this resolution is to conciliate public opinion to you, so that you can be heard.

Nathan Culver, pastor of the Baptist Church, Union village, Washington Co., wished to offer a few specific reasons for opposition to the resolutions. I will appreciate the motives of the mover of the resolutions. I am religiously associated with him, as well as in the great object before us. His object is good in these resolutions, but they will not accomplish the object. It cannot be accomplished but by the sacrifice of all that you have done. If you pass these resolutions, and say you adhere to the old pledge, you admit that the principle is unsettled, which has been settled by the labors of this society in the last two years. The resolutions leave it problematical whether the use of wine is injurious, whereas it has been settled that fermented drinks are dangerous, and are to be let alone, not if, but because they are a stumbling block. It throws the weapon back into the hands of your enemies. They will say you are inconsistent, you do not give up drunkenness, but only one manner of drunkenness. In the country the weapon has been well nigh taken away by the efforts of the last two years, and particularly since the resolutions of last year. Be honest in that resolution, and state the true reason, and it is this, that you shrink from the faithful discharge of your duty in pleading the cause of temperance.

Our brother's views are not correct, as to the occasion of the difference between the city and the country, in regard to the progress of temperance. I have labored in both, and can give the result of my own observations. In the country the people are on a level. The preachers approach every body in the omnipotence of truth, without fear or favor, and they carry the point. Let this course be adopted in the cities, and the results will be the same. But the fact is, the same plainness is not used in the cities. Too many of the leading people drink wine, too many shrink from the exposure of evil. The gentleman asks, shall we then abandon the cities to the destroyer? No, Sir, but on the other hand, we must carry them, in the same way we do the country. The cities are the centres of influence, and they are the strong holds of intemperance, and I would have my brethren who preach in cities feel it and take up the matter in earnest, and rebuke sin in high places, as well as in low places. If there is a place on earth where the pleaders of the cause of temperance should not flinch, it is in the cities. Let our brethren who live in cities, who keep back a part of the truth, and cover up a certain kind of delinquencies, lest they tread on the feet of the great, let them throw aside their fear, and bring the truth home to the great.

We have been told that this resolution

is to be an olive branch, a messenger of peace. Sir, I want no such peace, as peace with wine-drinking. They ask too much. If they would stand up to the truth, their influence would be much to us. But while they plead for wine, and indulge in wine, they are of no use to the temperance cause, and never were. This class of persons always hung back, and wanted to wait, and saunter along. We want their help and their influence. And now they say we can have it if you will turn round and cast reproach on all your efforts for the past year, and come down and confess your faults, and put our cloak, which some how or other has got to be a little more spotted than theirs, over them. Then they say they will go with you, if you will certify that their style of temperance is just as good as ours, and that we regard both with equal approbation, and they are just as good temperance men as you are. Sir, I am not prepared to do this. It would be of no use.

Suppose, Sir, I were to go home to Washington county, and take one of these city wine-drinking gentlemen friends of temperance along with me, with his olive branch in his hand, the glass of wine which you are called to vote as the only means of peace. I should go and plead for total abstinence. And I have no doubt I should accomplish something, for truth is mighty, and will prevail, however feeble the instrument. The people are awakened, are impressed, are about convinced, and just ready to sign the pledge. But then they ask, "Who is this gentleman with you?" "O he is a temperance brother from the city." "What is that he has got in his hand?" "It is a glass of wine, and I believe wine drinking is wrong, but the temperance society at Albany voted that he is just as good a temperance man as I am, and I agreed to call him brother, and to introduce him here as my good temperance brother, from the city, who has come all the way here to help us make temperance men in Washington county. Sir, my heart has swelled with gratitude to God, for what has been gained to the cause of temperance, for the drunkards that have been reclaimed, and the consistency that has been imparted by the present course. I am wont to praise God for the men that have stood up and advanced these principles, boldly and in fear of God. And shall I now turn and vote a reproach of these men and of their doings? No, Sir, I cannot do it. I will not say, as has been said, that I will leave you if you do not take the course I propose. No, Sir, I am not about to desert the temperance cause, let this question turn as it may. But if the society adopt this resolution, and turn back from all that has been gained of consistency and strength, by the labors of last year, I will go to some secret place and weep, and pray God to strengthen the things that remain, and bring back the society to the only plan on which they can do any good.

Mr Welch rose to reply. The chairman asked if he had not spoken twice on this resolution, and said his own impressions were that he had. Mr W thought not; but the general voice of the convention settled it, by calling on him to go on. He proceeded.

I have here additional evidence how much easier it is to denounce, and defame, and ridicule, than it is to inquire and understand and weigh a proposal; how much prettier sport it is to turn up a man of straw and knock him down, than it is to meet a stout fact or overthrow an irrefutable argument. It is that very spirit which has produced the present state of excitement in the public mind, and of exasperation against our institution. I regret that gentlemen, for the sake of making temperance speeches to-night, should persist in misconstruing the design of these resolutions. One gentleman has said we are going to throw a cloak over wine drinkers. But, Sir, the resolutions embrace the doctrines of this society, its constitution, and the only doctrine that can be maintained under it, of total abstinence from ardent spirit. And they connect with it the obligation to abstain from all that can intoxicate, on the basis of the law of christian love. You cannot succeed, while outraging the moral sense of the community, and shut your eyes to the lessons of experience, and close your ears against the voice of infinite wisdom and goodness. If the law of christian love is not sufficient to carry the rule of abstinence from wine, if you are driven to fanciful interpretations, and arraying the Bible in conflict with Bible, and assailing the institutions of the gospel, you cannot succeed.

Gerrit Smith addressed the convention. We have been repeatedly told that the design of these resolutions is misrepresented. Now, whether it is owing to obtuseness or prejudice in my mind, I cannot say, but I have seen no misrepresentation on the part of any gentlemen who have spoken on what I am willing to call my side of the question. The first resolution, now before us, is expressly a renewed attempt to establish the old pledge. Is not this directly in the face of the resolutions of this society last year, and of the known character of the society? And is it then at all strange that those who have contributed to stamp this character upon the operations of the society should be opposed to this resolution. I regret that so much has been said on my side of the question thus early in the debate. And this is my rea-

son. The gentleman who offered the resolution, and those friendly to it, should first have spoken and given their reasons. A year ago, this society adopted a certain resolution, in which they voted unanimously to take higher ground than they had heretofore taken, meaning the ground of abstinence from all that intoxicates. This ground was taken by the Executive Committee, in their publications, and by their agents in their addresses. I say not now, whether it was rightly taken, or judiciously, or profitably to the cause. But it was taken. And now we call in all fairness on the gentlemen who say to us, "Go back to the old ground and we will unite with you," to give their reasons for returning to the lower ground from which we have risen by the vote of last year. I call on them to give us their reasons why we should re-adopt the old pledge, which we virtually repudiated last year, when we recommended the new one.

There is a misapprehension on the part of some gentlemen, who seem to suppose that if we adopt the new pledge we can still adhere to the old, and have no objection to its use. I take different ground. I am prepared to urge the exclusive adoption of the new pledge. I believe it is not only inexpedient, but morally wrong, to use the old pledge. And for this belief I am prepared, at a proper time to give my reasons.

Sir, I appreciate the kind spirit that dictated these resolutions. They have that one evidence of having been dictated by the spirit of wisdom from on high, that they breathe the spirit of love. But, Sir, there is a higher question to be determined before we admit that is wisdom from above. Is it first PURE and then peaceable? Do they not involve a sacrifice of principle on the part of the great body of the temperance society? Here each one must judge for himself. I have no doubt the gentleman believes it is all pure. But for my part I cannot advocate the old pledge, nor admit the propriety of its use. I cannot go to my drunken neighbor with the old pledge, because I know that to him it is a pledge fraught with death instead of deliverance. It impliedly permits and encourages the use of intoxicating drinks in the form of cider, beer and wine. That the old pledge does this is evident from the fact that any wish to retain it. The only value of the old pledge is in the fact that it does admit of the use of fermented intoxicating drinks. And I cannot do so which implies this. Now, if I cannot in my individual capacity do this, I cannot consent that this society in its collective capacity should sanction an act which as an individual I believe to be morally wrong. I am opposed, therefore, to the old pledge. And I shall oppose it. And we shall vote it down if we can. I believe it indispensable to the prosperity of our cause that it be buried up, out of sight. It is not now time for argument on this point. But I call on the gentlemen who want to pull us back from our advanced position, to give us their reasons. And if they are, as they believe, good and valid reasons, they shall have all due influence upon us. And if they are, as I believe, insufficient, both they and we shall, I doubt not, rejoice alike to have their fallacy exposed.

Mr Nutt, President of Union College, said he had not intended to make any observations on this resolution, and he would not make but few. He felt some degree of responsibility, however, because he had some agency in bringing the business where it was. It was with great doubts he had done what he had done. But he used what will, it is a fact that there is a great diversity of opinion between the city and the country. I know that the temperance reform has receded in our cities and in some of our villages. I have been on the ground of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks years before the present temperance movement. The only question now before us, is, as I conceive it, what measures are necessary to bring this whole community up to that ground. I should be afraid to do any thing to alienate the country. But on the whole, I am apprehensive we shall lose the cities and large towns, those great centres of influence, unless something like the resolutions shall be adopted by this society. Our divine Master and his disciples selected the great towns as the scenes of their labors, and we ought to learn wisdom from their example. It is a fact that many in our cities have gone back from us, and many are now arrayed against us. There is a difference among us, not in regard to the propriety of abstaining from fermented liquors, but as to the ground on which we should construct a pledge of abstinence. Some say it is criminal, *per se* to drink such liquors. Others would put it in the influence of example, or a regard to health, or the law of christian love. I will not argue that question. I see that intoxicating drinks are destroying my fellow men, and that is reason enough with me for leaving them off. Now what shall we lose, by adopting these resolutions, and placing the obligation to abstain on the single ground of christian love? These resolutions take, as far as I can see, the very ground of the resolution of last year. They first recognise the old pledge, and the resort to higher ground. Why not go on another year in the same way? The sciences of men in the country cannot be a rule for the men in the city, and why should you drive off the men in the city?

For my part, I am not going to break away from the temperance cause, let the resolutions turn which way they will. I believe it to be the cause of God, and that it will prevail, but we must conciliate our brethren.

I do not ask for any compromise of principle. If I thought the resolutions involved a sacrifice of principle by the society, I would oppose them. But shall we suffer a mere difference of opinion to go on creating dissension, separating the friends of the society from its ranks? Although not using any of these drinks myself, yet I can make allowances for many who have not come on as far as I have. I want to hear the arguments the gentlemen spoke of, against the use of the old pledge. But I do not wish to drive off from us all who adopt it and who do not see far enough to adopt the new. I do not want to lose the hold I may have on their affections and their confidence. I would not, however, carry even these resolutions, or any resolutions to conciliate the city, by a bare majority, unless I could also carry the feelings of the people in the country, whom I love, and who have gone farther in temperance than these of the city.

Mr Turner, agent of the society, wished to state a few facts, as reasons why this resolution should not pass. It is known, said he, that I have been for four years an agent of the New York State Temperance Society. The greatest number of names that have been obtained to the pledge by any one man have been obtained by me. I used to obtain the pledges of about 6500 in a year when I used the old pledge. After the resolution of last year, for taking higher ground, I supposed that your agents were authorized, and indeed required to carry another pledge, that of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. And accordingly, for six months I presented both pledges wherever I lectured. But I uniformly obtained the largest number of signatures to the new pledge. In October I went to Canada, where I labored until the 10th day of December, when I commenced in this state again, and then I presented only the total abstinence pledge, and received names to no other. During the last two months I have lectured in cities, in villages, and in country towns, and in that time have obtained more than 3500 names to the total abstinence pledge. If I should continue unsuccessful through the year, I should collect more than three times as many names as I ever obtained in a year to the old pledge.

Another thing I wish to mention. Until we adopted the new pledge, it used to be said almost every where, that the cause had declined. Some said it was on account of agitating the wine question. I asked them where it was the wine question was agitated, and they could not tell. Is it agitated here? "No; we have had no meeting in a year, and the last we had, there were but a handful of people attended." No, Sir, it was not agitating the wine question, it was the inefficiency of the old pledge to destroy intemperance, that disheartened our friends and quieted our foes. I have found very few towns where the old pledge has been relied on, that there are not drunkards who have gone back. And where it is said that evil has been done by agitating the wine question, I have made this challenge in the public meeting. "Where is the man who has gone back by first drinking ardent spirit?" And I have never found one. On the contrary, I have had it, not unfrequently from the relaxed drunkards themselves, that what I said was God's truth, that a drunkard cannot be reclaimed without total abstinence, and that they had lost their character, and their self-respect and confidence, by first taking a little wine, or some other fermented drink.

Very often it is in this way. When a drunkard is reclaimed, it is like life from the dead. Every body is pleased—every body loves him, and all wish to show him kindness. And there is no way in which his old friends can show their kindness so easily as by asking him to take a glass of beer, or perhaps a glass of wine. He knows his weakness, and he says, "No, I don't want it." But his friend replies, "I am a cold water man too, you know, but we are not pledged to abstain from this." The man is silenced, not convinced, but ashamed to refuse any longer, or to tell the reason why he fears to taste the offered cup. I can name the men, who have told me this as their own history. They drank a little wine, or a little beer, or a little cider, offered by this church member, or that member of the temperance society, it fired their blood, and then it is, "Who cares for the cold water society?" Not I. Landlord, give me some whiskey?"

And now, as to the idea that the old pledge will answer, I do not believe there are ten men in this house, who have not drunk wine, or cider, or beer, since they signed the old pledge, and without a tho't that they were breaking their pledge. Sir, the old pledge is not worth a straw. I cannot present it for signature, when I know that if a drunkard takes it, and follows it, he will go down to the drunkard's grave. If the old pledge is to be the standard of the New York State Temperance Society, I can no longer present it.

Some farther desultory discussion took place. Gerrit Smith moved the following substitute as an amendment to the first resolution: